1:Du Bois . E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of sixteen women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

513 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
854 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
833 be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

834 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex
842 attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

854 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
864 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

586 tract from their pleasure in the recitation of the exchanges. Also, the
longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
182 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
586 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
that the woman's family is in a debtor position. This too serves as a
check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
587 her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

593 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
mokos worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the begin-
ning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
583 however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he fol-
lowed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers in-
sisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in dan-
ger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarreling she ran back to
her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father re-
married she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

596 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, par-
ticularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However,
the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-
dollar-and-fifty-cent moko that the father refused to return until the
husband returned a five-dollar moko of the dowry payment. This
the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely
what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been
given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the hus-
band and complete the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find
another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of
her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her
unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl
he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a seer who would
counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against
her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

183 593 ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to be modal.

593 833 One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men [556 834] when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

582 On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is [881 884] considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of [582] sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

581 The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair [582] and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

000 So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

883 591 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously [836] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a-shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

832 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling [831] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep.

833 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tagging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to [586] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to 586
have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things."
Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the
following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril.

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have 539
intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had 831
vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A
man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people.
The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the
husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would
have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So
the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house,
chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy,
where she gave birth in normal fashion.

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the
child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a
grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The hus-
band asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the
slave answered, "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the
father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh,
the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the
child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then,
while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman.
Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives,
but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.* In connection with chil- 833
dren, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However,
mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrest-
ling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is
considered the proper tin e for intercourse. Encounters during the day
and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of
preferring the latter type of encounter.

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced
a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was re- 844
ferred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to
some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe-

* Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this in- 115
formation was secured largely from one person, Fantan the Interpreter, after our 124
relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he
would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and
opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this
sort of investigation.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

844 nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

833 In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than 183 her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to 834 have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period [841] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

753 A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. 684 During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

831 Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
833 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote *itself. It would indicate a complete* externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[624] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[684] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

159 band wanted to sleep with her and she was afraid. Makalaka stayed with us that night. When he left in the morning, Fainai's mother and father came to us. They spoke nicely to her. She went back to her husband and slept with him after that.

When I was eight or nine years old, I went to stay in the house of the tumukun's father. Falepang was married to Atamau, who was an elder brother [classificatory] of the tumukun, Fanseni, and me. He wanted to sleep with her, but she ran away. She asked me to go sleep with her in an empty house at Warshiang. The next day some older people, including my mother, hunted for us. Mother asked me if I had brought my older sister [classificatory] there. I said, "No, her husband wanted to have intercourse with her, so she brought me here to sleep. It was dark when she asked me." Mother said, "Now we must go back to the village." Falepang's brother had come also and had spoken nicely to her, urging her to come home. We went back to sleep at the tumukun's house and Atamau had intercourse with Falepang. I slept with the tumukun and Fanseni in one place, and Atamau and Falepang slept in another. I said, "You have slept with your husband, so I am going to return to my village." [This was told rapidly and without pause.]

[593 ●833] [Do all young women refuse their husbands at first?] Yes, at first they never want their husbands.

When I was thirteen or fourteen, Matinglang [female] and I played together. We went to the garden. I asked for her digging stick, since there might be rats there. We dug for them and caught two big ones. Fanmau and Falepang were there too. I told them to sharpen two spits. Kolpada said, "You are lying," and I said, "No, it is true." So we sharpened two spits and roasted the rats there under the big mango tree. The women ate them all. Some of the older women were busy in the garden digging tubers, so we roasted tubers too. The older ones, Falepang and Fanmau, got the hindquarters. [This duplicated habitual [462] male activity. Rat hunting was not forbidden to women but was not customary for them.]

Once Matinglang called me to hunt rats. She set her dog on them. [Both informant and interpreter smiled at this imitation of adult male activities.] The dog started a rat, which I clubbed. Then the dog killed another rat himself. There were two of them. We gave them to Matinglang's mother, who cooked them for us, and we all ate them together. Our two mothers were working in the garden while we two played near them until nightfall.